

8
SEASONABLE
Polit. Pamph. vol 112.
CONSIDERATIONS

On the Expediency of a

WAR with *France*;

Arising from a faithful Review of the State
of both Kingdoms.

To which are added

A POSTSCRIPT, on the List of
the *French* Army,

A short COMPARISON, between the *British*
and *French* Dominions;

And a STATE of the *French* Revenues, and
Forces in the Year, 1701.

By GEORGE BURRINGTON, Esq;

L O N D O N:

Printed for F. COGAN, at the *Middle Temple-gate*:

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3 E A S O N A B L E

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On the Expediency of a

WAR with *France*.

WHEN two opposite Parties assert quite opposite Things, it is no new Thing for both to be in the Wrong.

Truth is to be found in the Midst, not at the Extremes: Passion, Prejudice and Interest are often mistook for Reason, and oftener obtruded upon the World for Principle, and Conviction.

Our Ministers now act as if a War with *France* was the only public Point worth pursuing; the People, at least their Leaders, declare, as if with one Voice, that such a War, in our present Circumstances, would almost be fatal to us. Much may be said on both Sides: Ingenious and subtle Men may
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render almost any Point plausible, tho' Truth only will admit of Demonstration.

The Controversy is nevertheless of the last Importance; and whoever is persuaded that he has any Thing to lay before the Public, which may be of public Advantage, is under a moral Obligation to set it forth: for tho', according to the Play, we cannot *command* Success, we may *deserve* it.

On these Principles, and for these Reasons, I throw in my Mite: which is neither a Complement to the Projects of the Great, (as will soon be made evident) nor a Bait for the Passions of the Vulgar; but a simple Detail of what I have observed of the Pass'd, and of what may thence be gathered for the Benefit of the Present and the Future.

Those who entertain such terrible Apprehensions of a War with *France*, found them principally on the Difficulties and Calamities attending the two former Wars, carried on by the Confederates against that aspiring Power, and the Labour-in-vain-Attempts which, according to them, they proved to be in the Issue.—In particular, these Gentlemen urge, that *France alone* maintained those Wars, at least the First of them, against *most* of the Powers of *Europe*; which by no Figure whatever can be allowed: for by casting an Eye over the Map, it will appear, that not a tenth Part of *Europe* was
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in Arms against *Lewis* XIV in any Part of his Reign ; and the true Reasons why he was able to baffle the Attempts of King *William*, were these : The Factions which embarrassed that Prince at Home, the Difficulties his Ministers found in the Article of Ways and Means, the Scarcity and ill State of the Coin, the weak and dilatory Conduct of the Court of *Spain*, the Diversion made in Favour of *France* by the Grand Signior, who gave the Emperor as much Trouble on the Side of *Hungary*, as his most Christian Majesty did on the *Rhine* ; and above all, the Interest which the *French* Court had the Address to maintain continually in his *Britannic* Majesty's Councils.

Nor can it be alledged, with Reason, that, even during that successful War, King *Lewis* performed all those Feats which are so pompously set forth by his Flatterers, as well Historians as Poets, by the Strength of *France* only ; for his best Troops were formed of mercenary *Germans*, *Switzers*, and *Italians*, and discontented *Britons* and *Irish*, which all together amounted to 100,000.

But *Louis le Grand* best deserved that superb Stile when the second War broke out, in the first Year of Queen *Anne* : for he had then in his Pay 250,000 Veterans, commanded by brave and experienced Officers : a prodigious Train of Artillery ; Engineers

scarce to be match'd in *Europe* ; a mighty Navy ; Docks, Yards, Founderies and Magazines in the exactest Order ; and, to crown all, his Grandson was in the quiet Possession of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy, of which the *Netherlands* then made a Part, and Master of the Wealth of the *Indies* ; which thenceforward was to be at the Devotion of *France*.

And yet notwithstanding all this, both *France* and *Spain*, for the first Year, kept every where upon the Defensive only ; *Keyserwert* upon the *Rhine*, a very strong Place, after a stout and bloody Resistance, was taken in the Sight of Mareschal *Tallard*, who commanded the *French* Army on the other Side the River. Prince *Eugene* at the Head of an Imperial Army in *Italy*, was likewise very successful : The *Germans*, moreover made themselves Masters of *Landau*, and kept *Strasbourg* blockaded all the ensuing Winter : the same Year also our own Hero the Earl of *Marlborough*, made a surprising Progress, by taking *Venlo*, *Ruremond*, *Liege*, *Bonn*, &c. and forming the Blockade of *Limbourg*, from which it could never be deliver'd. 15000 brave Fellows were sent during the same Interval, under the Command of the late Duke of *Ormond*, to make an Attempt upon *Cadiz* :

And, tho' that Expedition, thro' ill Conduct, miscarried, yet the Fleet in their Return
made

made the Nation amends, by taking and destroying thirty *French* Men of War, and about half as many *Spanish* Galleons at *Vigo*; and bringing home a considerable Treasure, besides large Quantities of valuable Merchandize; In a Word, in the very same Year several of the *French* Sugar Islands were plundered, their Fishery at *Newfoundland* was obstructed, and many of their Vessels taken and destroyed.

Let this hasty Sketch serve to manifest, that this high and mighty *Louis le Grand*: with his Grandson-King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, then their Ally, in Conjunction, did not as yet appear to be a Match to the Confederates, who appear'd in Arms against them: The true Causes therefore that enabled *France* and *Spain* to hold out the War so long, were not so much owing to the Superiority of their own Strength and Wealth, as to the Defection, or, if I may be allowed to say so, the Rebellion of the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, and the Insurrection of the Malcontent *Hungarians* and *Transylvanians*, who had been long, and grievously oppressed, and persecuted by the Emperor *Leopold*, and his Priest-ridden Ministry: And tho' the last of those Electors introduced *French* Forces into his strong Places, at the Commencement of the War, it was not till the latter End of the Year 1702, or the beginning of the next, that the *Hungarians*

rians and *Transylvanians* betook themselves to Arms, to recover their Liberties, and caused so great an Alteration in the Emperor's Affairs, by reducing *Transylvania*, (where *Ragotski* was proclaim'd Prince) most of *Hungary*, and marching up to the Gates of *Vienna*: of which Diversion the Elector of *Bavaria* likewise taking Advantage, made himself Master of *Passau*, *Ratisbon*, *Ausbourg*, *Ulm*, *Memingen*, &c. the Emperor's Troops which were sent to reduce him, being in all Places repulsed with great Loss: nor did his Highness's virtuous Attempts end here; for he carried his Arms into *Tyrol*, in hopes to conquer that Country, and open a Communication with the *French* Army in *Italy*: but in this Enterprize his good Fortune forsook him; for, altho' the Province was destitute of regular Forces, he was disappointed by the Courage of the Brave and faithful *Tyroleze* at *Kuffstein*, and found a Stop put to his Conquests.

In the Year 1703 Mareschal *Tallard* besieged and took *Brisack*, and that strong Fortrefs, *Landau*, after gaining a compleat Victory over an Army sent from *Flanders*, under the Command of the Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, to impede him, at *Spirebach*, where the most part of that Army were either slain or taken Prisoners, with inconsiderable Loss to the *French*; so that by this great Defeat,
and

and the loss of two such important Places, on one side, and the great Progress made, on the other, by the *Hungarians*, the War in *Italy* languish'd on the Part of the Emperor, who could neither reinforce his Troops in that Country with Men, nor send Money to pay the Arrears of those which still remain'd in his Service.

All these Particulars, therefore, being duly considered, I think it is apparent, that the Emperor was reduc'd to the low Estate we saw him in at the latter end of the said Year, not so much by the Power of *France*, as by the Help of the *Hungarians*, and *Bavarians*.

Suffer me to add likewise: That altho' the Duke of *Marlborough* in 1704 obtain'd a complete Victory over the *French* and *Bavarians* at *Blenheim*, and dispossessed the Elector of *Bavaria* of his Dominions, as he had his Brother the Elector of *Cologne* and Bishop of *Liege* before, yet the Forces of those two Princes still continued in and fought with the *French* Armies to the end of the War.

Nor must it be forgot, that the Fruits of that important Victory never reach'd *Hungary* at all; where the Troubles not only raged as fiercely as ever, but had so melancholly an Effect on the Emperor's Affairs, that in the following Year, the Allies were forced to detach a Body of Forces to his Assistance,
against

against those, who, tho' stiled Rebels at *Vienna*, fought only for their Rights and Liberties: By which means a Check was put to the Progress of the Confederate-Arms: The *French* again broke into the Empire, reduc'd *Treves*, &c. and all the great Projects of the Duke of *Marlborough* for that Year came to nothing.

Of such pernicious Consequence to the whole Confederacy was this one Article of the Commotions of *Hungary*; concerning which I shall add no more, but that they continued 'till the late Emperor succeeded to the Imperial Throne, upon the Decease of his Brother *Joseph*.

It is farther to be observed, that tho' the *British* Nation exerted itself in so extraordinary a manner, to carry on the common Cause, and enable the executive Power to hasten the Catastrophe of the War, what was the Interest of the Whole, was not the Interest of Individuals: Thus we find our whole Marine, tho' our natural, fundamental Strength, so miserably managed, as to become the just Object of Parliamentary Enquiry and Censure: We find Flag-Officers accused of Cowardice: We find the Prince of *Denmark's* Council, as Lord High Admiral, remonstrated against, for their Neglect of our Commerce and Navigation: and we find very few of those

those great Things done by the Confederate Fleet, which might justly have been expected from the Title of Maritime Powers.

However, notwithstanding all Corruptions or Misfortunes, we find the mighty Powers of *France* and *Spain*, so far humbled at last, as, at the Treaty of *Gertruydenburgh*, to offer the Confederates almost a *Carte-blanche*: And that the said Treaty came to nothing after all, is as great a Reproach to the *Dutch*, who had the sole Management of it, as that of *Utrecht* was made to the English afterwards.

And now we are come to another great Cause, why a War, that all along promised so much, produc'd so little: A Peace abroad was to be the Price of Power at Home; and therefore a Peace of any kind could not be purchas'd too dearly: It was owing, therefore, rather to the Straits of the new Ministry, than the Straits of the People, that so bad a one was accepted of; and it is plain, beyond Controversy, that, had we treated, Sword in Hand, with our victorious General still at the Head of the Confederate Army, the Fault of *Gertruydenburgh* might not only have been retrieved, but we might have given Law to *Louis le Grand* in *France*, as his Successor hath now done in the Empire.

But not to overload the fatal Treaty of *Utrecht* too much; certain it is, that almost

ever since the *Hanover* Succession took place the worst part of *Cromwell's* Politics, with Respect to *France*, hath been unhappily followed; and we have rather endeavour'd to oblige her to be our Friend, than to beware of her as an Enemy: And hence it is, that she hath been suffer'd, gradually, so to increase in Dominion, Strength, Credit, and Influence, as once more to become the Terror of *Europe*, and to render a new Confederacy necessary to reduce her to her *ancient Bounds*.

Having now proved, I think undeniably, that the real Power of *France* hath been represented as more formidable than it is, and that the Difficulty of reducing it, during the two last Wars, arose rather from Accidents in her Favour, than the Superiority of her Strength; I come now to treat of her Revenues, which are held by some to be as inexhaustible as the *Indian Mines*, and consequently, like the Soul of Government, at all Times able to maintain the whole System in Life, Health, and Motion.

But this Notion likewise, according to the best Intelligence that can be procured from *France* itself, will appear, upon Examination, to deserve as little Credit as the former.

It hath been already observed, That during all Queen *Anne's* War, the Wealth of *Spain* was at the Devotion of *France*, which must be understood of the *Spanish Commerce* as well as Revenues; all the
Ports

Ports of *New* as well as *Old Spain* being open to her Merchants, who thereby found a never-failing Vent for the Manufactures of their own Growth, and made an Access of many Millions annually to the Wealth of their Country, during the Course of the said War: Besides the ill Posture of the Emperor's Affairs gave the *French* frequent Opportunities to raise vast Contributions in *Germany* and *Italy*, which they never failed to improve to the utmost: And yet, with all these Helps and all the other mischievous and oppressive Expedients, which the Administration had recourse to, under the Head of *Ways* and *Means**, the Revenues were so consumed by that devouring War, that in the Years 1709, 10, 11, the Whole did not exceed one Million and a half Sterling; and the Debts of the Government amounted to little less than one hundred and fourscore Millions Sterling; of which immense Sum, tho' much hath been liquidated, little hath been pay'd: so that even at this Hour, the Revenue labours under such Encumbrances as it can neither bear, nor discharge.

The Customs for Example, which indeed, on account of the infinite Prohibitions of
C 2 foreign

* Such as raising and falling the Value of the Coin; squeezing Loans from their rich Subjects, and out of the Manufacture-Towns and Sea-Ports, not sparing even their very Plate; nor that of the Convents and Altars.

foreign Manufactures, bear no Proportion to those of *England*, are mortgaged to the Sea-Ports, and the inland Duties in like Manner to the Manufacture-Towns, by way of Security for the Loans of Plate and Money before mentioned: and neither of these Branches are likely to revert to the Government these Forty Years.

The City of *Paris*, likewise, advanced such Sums to the late King, during the late War, that the Annuities still paid at the Town-House are said to amount to 50,000,000 Livres or upwards of two Millions Sterling yearly.

That celebrated grand Monarque, moreover, in his Extremity had recourse to another dextrous Expedient towards replenishing his empty Coffers; which was by erecting several new and superfluous Offices, with stated Salaries; the Patents for which were carried to the Market and sold to the highest Bidder.

And finding it answer, he took the Hint to set all the Civil Offices of the Crown, from the Chancellor to the Executioner, to Sale, likewise, after the following Rates, *viz.* Every President of every provincial Parliament or Court of Justice, (Each of which consists of four Chambers of Twelve Assistants each and a President) gave 120,000 Livres; every Assistant 60,000; every Advocate 40,000; and every Attorney 36,000. In vir-
tue

tue of which Purchase, (over and above four *per Cent* Interest Money, which is paid annually by the Crown for the said respective Sums) every Patent became a Sort of Freehold to the Possessor; being either inheritable by his Children, or alienable by Leave of the Court, which is never refused, except the Buyer is unqualified for the Office.

Even the Capitation or Poll-Tax, which was, at first, imposed on all without Exception, and levy'd with much Rigour, sunk so remarkably during the War, that the Intendants received a discretionary Power to demand or excuse it, according to the Circumstances of the People.

But every Deficiency was to be made good: The Tax therefore called the *Dixieme*, or Tenth of every Man's Income, was imposed to answer that End*. But from this last, the Princes of the Blood, and all the Clergy in general are excepted: And it must be farther observed, that the entire Provinces of *Brittany*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphiny*, do not pay to the Government in the same Proportions with the other Provinces of the Kingdom.

With Regard to the other Taxes and Impositions of *France*, they are subject to little Fluctuation: or if they are, the Farmers-General, not the Government, are the Suf-

* Besides the Taxes above-mentioned, there is another levied in *France*, called *la Taille*, which is a sort of Poll-Tax upon Sheep and Cattle.

Sufferers: But those Gentlemen generally take care to make good Bargains, and, as they give the King a certain annual Rent of 160,000,000 Livres (above Six Millions Sterling) it is not to be presumed but they find their Account in it.

To this Sum of Six Millions, what is collected by the Intendants being added, according to the highest Computation, the whole Revenues of *France*, by the Access of those of *Lorrain*, amount to somewhat more than Ten Millions Sterling.

An immense Sum it must be acknowledg'd, and sufficient indeed to endanger *Europe*, if it came entire into the King's Coffers, and could be disposed of as his Ministers pleased.

But this is far from being the Case: We have already taken notice of very considerable Deductions it is liable to, on account of former Encumbrances; and to these must be added the expensive Articles of the Civil Officers, the Establishment of *Archers**, every one of which hath a Pension of 400 Livres *per Ann.* (which not being sufficient for the Support of a Gentleman-Trooper, they squeeze the rest out of the poor People); the Charge of 16000 Galley-Slaves, and almost innumerable Pensions to the Nobility,

* A Sort of Light Horse, who guard the Roads, apprehend suspected Persons, and execute in common the Orders of the Magistrates.

† Nobility, &c. who, having run out their Estates in the Service of the Crown formerly, are forced to subsist upon it's Bounty.

By these different Issues full half of this mighty Flood of Wealth is sluic'd off before it reaches the Treasury; whence it is obvious to common Sense, that, after the ordinary Expences of the Court, the Fleet, the Army, the Fortified Towns, the annual Subsidies to foreign Princes, and the Variety of Intrigues ever carrying on in *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Holland*, &c. &c. are defray'd, the Remainder, however skilfully managed, would go but a little way in the Support of another general War: And when a Nation is exhausted of it's Wealth, according to the present Mode of Fighting, it may be said to be vanquish'd; *Plutus* being now become more a Master of the Art of War than *Mars* himself.

It is true, that Necessity teaches Oeconomy; and very possible that when both their Credit and their Funds should fail, the State-Pilots of *France* would strike off some of the Pensions entirely, retrench others, and, out of their very Savings at Home, would be able, for a while, to keep up their Figure abroad.

† Those of superior Rank are rewarded with Employments: Insomuch, that when a gay Equipage appears, instead of asking what Estate, as with us, it is usual to ask what Employment, it is supported by?

abroad: But as all they could save would not be equal to the Demands of a War, this Expedient would only defer the evil Day, and in the End it would arrive notwithstanding.

It may likewise be urg'd, that *France* is so great, so rich, and flourishing a Kingdom, that she hath Resources without End; consequently the Clown had as much Reason of his Side, when he expected the Stream would run itself dry, as we, when we expect to see her subdued by her own Wants and Necessities.

But those who represent her State to be at once so happy and so formidable, go perhaps upon Presumptions only, and the Matter of Fact may be wholly otherwise.

Sure I am, that not only all our Travellers, I mean such who carry out a necessary Stock of common Sense along with them, but even the *French* themselves confess, That as to what we in *England* call the Landed Interest, 'tis almost every where in a sad Condition: Infinite Numbers of Acres lying wholly waste and uncultivated; and scarce any one Tract in any one Province being sufficiently stock'd with Cattle, or supplied with necessary Manure, or in any one Respect husbanded as it ought to be: All which Defects are owing to the general Poverty that every where prevails, and in which both Landlord and Tenant are equally involved.

The

The Value of Lands, for the general, is so low, that the usual Rates are from one to four Livres *per Acre French*, which contains more than ours by a thirteenth ; and for a Farmer or Grazier to undertake to stock his own Grounds, and pay his Rent in Specie, as with us, is a thing hardly ever known in *France*. On the contrary, the Gentry are either forced to manage for themselves, or to furnish a Tenant with Cattle, Seed, and all the Implements of Husbandry ; in Consideration of his Labour and Care, allowing him one Third of the Produce, and reserving the other two for their own Profit ; or rather to discharge the Demands of the King and the Church, who more than go Halves in the whole Crop.

And here, having mentioned the Church, let me have leave to add, that tho' there is a considerable Number of very rich Benefices in *France*, the whole Kingdom swarms with indigent, begging Fryars, out of whom no Tax can possibly be squeezed ; but who, on the other Hand, quarter themselves upon the poor People, and in Conjunction with those Locusts of another Class, the *Archers*, before-spoken of, eat up all before them.

There is, therefore, no such fundamental Stock in the natural Product of *France*, as can afford a Surplus sufficient to maintain both the ordinary Charge of Government, and

the Extraordinaries of a War: We all know, that the Wealth which hath been for Ages heaping together is soon and easily squandered: Where there is an annual Waste, there must be an annual Access to make it good; for prodigal States, as well as prodigal Individuals, quicken their own Ruin: And this annual Access can no where be found but in a foreign Trade, by which the Industry of a Nation is carried to Market as well as the Growth of the Soil; and the Merchant enriches his Country with the common Profits of both.

Should it be admitted, therefore, that the Manufactures of *France* were in ever so thriving a Condition, which, by the way, I do not hold to be altogether so manifest as some People would have it believed, the Vent for those Manufactures must in a great Degree depend upon their Navigation; and their Navigation, I will be bold to say, depends more upon the Courtesy of *England* than ever, and may be ruined whenever we please.

To make which appear evident beyond Contradiction, let it be first considered, that while we continue at open War with *Spain*, and at Peace with *France*, our Commerce is interrupted, theirs is free; ours is eat up with an high Insurance, theirs hath nothing but the Danger of the Sea to guard against; while our Weavers beg, steal, starve, and enlist, theirs find Employment by
working

working up our own Wool, and their Merchants carry their Wares to Market almost as cheap as we can put ours on Board.

Secondly, While we continue at Peace with them, their Sugar-Plantations, of which they are as tender as the Apple of their Eye, are supply'd both from *Ireland* and the *British Colonies*, with Timber, Slaves, Lumber, Horses, and even Provisions, which if profitable to us, are necessary to them ; and the bare withdrawing of those Assistances would go half Way towards their Ruin ; little Prospect appearing, at present, of their being furnished elsewhere.

Thirdly, The *British Colonies*, since the *Treaty of Utrecht*, are so improved in Shipping, and Numbers of Inhabitants, that they alone, by their own Strength, might easily disturb, if not totally destroy the *French American Fisheries*, which are their best Nursery of Seamen.

Fourthly, As their Factories, both in the *Indies*, and on the Coast of *Guinea*, and their Traffick every where, interfere with ours, and for that very Reason cannot be molested too soon, so the same Force which protects our own Navigation, will be able to destroy theirs ; and when once the bloody Flag is display'd, they will find none to deliver.

For, *Fifthly*, The whole Navy Royal of *France* doth not exceed Forty Ships of the

Line, some of which are supposed to be unserviceable, and scarce half of which can be compleatly mann'd, without the highest Detriment to their Commerce ; whereas the Navy Royal of *England* trebles that Number ; which on any capital Emergence might all be put to Sea ; nor in case of a Misfortune, are we without a Resource of Materials, Men, or Money to make all good again : To all which, let me add, that, in Respect of Cruisers, we have as much the Superiority, as in Ships of the Line ; that as to Privateers, we have more Vessels fit for that Service in our Ports than they, and what is infinitely to be lamented, they have almost as many at Sea to lose by such a War as we.

Thus it appears that the Navigation of *France* depends on the Courtesy of *England*, that by attacking her in that sensible Part, we exert our own Strength against her Weakness, and that by making War upon her Wealth, we take the surest and speediest Method to deliver *Germany* and *Italy* out of her oppressive Hands.

But of this more anon ; I come now to another Branch of my Design, viz. To shew that it is not only for the Interest of *England* to break with *France*, but to take Advantage of the present Crisis as the most favourable, that,

that, according to the common Course of human Affairs, can be expected.

I have already observed, that *Cromwell's* Politics, with Respect to the Friendship of *France*, have, till very lately, been partly copied by all our Ministers, since the Accession of the illustrious House of *Hanover* to the *British* Throne : That is to say, we have thought it our Interest to humour that Court in all Things, I might say, truckle to it ; but then we never, like him, took Fire at the least Appearance of ill Usage, and by setting them openly at Defiance, convinced them, that our Friendship was, to the full, of as much Consequence to them, as theirs to us.

Hence they have presum'd to treat us rather as one of their Tools, than an independant Power, and, to our almost irreparable Dishonour, wherever they lead the Dance, oblig'd us to follow : finding us, therefore, by repeated Experiments, as tame and manageable as their own Hearts could wish, they proceeded to pull us by the Nose, laugh in our Face, and enure us to all manner of Indignities ; infomuch, that the Nation saw with Astonishment on one Side, *Spain* prompted by them to do us all manner of Mischief, while we had our Hands ty'd behind us on the other, and were not even permitted to use the first Dictate of Nature,

ture, Self-Defence; nay, the very Sovereignty of the Seas was so far resigned to them, that a gallant Lieutenant, who in Virtue of the Orders, oblig'd a *French* Ship to strike to the King's Flag in the Harbour of *Plymouth*, was * broke to pacify the Clamours of the late Cardinal thereupon, who would not accept of a less Sacrifice by Way of Propitiation. After which it was scarce to be wondered at, that, by the Help of *Mexican* † Sauce and *French* Cookery, we could be brought to relish the Treaty of *Seville*; and in Consequence thereof, should not only be at the Expence of a mighty Squadron to introduce *Don Carlos* into *Italy*, but actually make a Point of admitting six thousand *Spaniards* instead of the Neutral Troops expressly agreed upon; which oblig'd us to guaranty the Pragmatic Sanction, by Way of pacifying the Emperor.

But the opening a Door for the House of *Bourbon* to establish themselves on the other Side of the *Alps* was not all: It became the Will

* He was soon after made a Captain, to render this bitter Pill a little more palatable at home.

† It is confidently affirmed, that a Million of Pistoles was in the Course of this Affair remitted to ***; so that if this Fact was true, the Depredations upon the Merchants may be said to have been committed for the Benefit of our M——s.

Will and Pleasure of the Court of *Versailles* to chastise his Imperial Majesty for thwarting the Election of *Stanislaus* to the Throne of *Poland*; in order to which the *French* Armies passed the *Rhine*, took Fort *Kbiel*, and besieged *Philipsburg*, while we most serenely gaz'd on the Distresses of our old Ally, without moving a Hand to save him; though we had afterwards the Grace, by the Peace-Maker, or, as *Shakespeare* humourously calls it, to put in a Sort of Claim to the Merit of the Accommodation.

For our amazing Supineness on this Occasion, some Persons endeavoured to account, by assuring us, that the Course of Exchange between *London* and *Paris* was for a considerable Time in our Favour; but others treat both the Politics and Politicians of those Times with so much Contempt, as to declare, That neither were worth a Purchase; and that the subtle Cardinal knew the Value of the *French* Revenue too well to lay out any Part of it in such worthless Commodities.

Be this as it may, tho' *France* could not give a King to *Poland*, she made a Shift to acquire the noble Duchy of *Lorraine*, which was much the better Job of the two, in as much as, thro' the Dexterity of the *French* Fi-

Financiers, it hath added above a * Million Sterling, (28,000,000 of Livres) to her annual Revenues: it ought however to be observed that she found herself oblig'd to swallow the Pragmatic Sanction as her Neighbours had done before her, by Way of Consideration; the House of *Austria* wisely concluding that it was more advisable to sacrifice a Part than to endanger the whole.

But what signify Treaties to those who seem to think them no longer binding, than they favour their Interests? Thus the Body of the late Emperor was scarce cold, before we find this insidious Power forming Projects to strip his Heirs of those Dominions, she stood bound by Treaty to secure them in the Possession of; and taking upon her to dole about the Spoils to whom she pleased.

In order to effect which, she spirited up five Electors, besides several Princes and Bishops holding Sovereignities, to attack her *Hungarian* Majesty in *Germany*; and that *Russia* might not interpose in her Behalf, she first bribed *Sweden* to wage War with an
Enemy,

* In mitigation of this Article of *Lorrain* the *Gazetteers* took Notice, That in Time of War *France* constantly took Possession of that Duchy; but they forgot to observe, that she had ever the Goodness to leave the Duke in Possession of his Revenues, tho' they depriv'd him of his Power.

Enemy, every way her Superior, and then left her at the Mercy of that Enemy, who in a manner trod on her Neck, and held the Sword at her Throat.

With regard to *Great Britain*, she had no Reason to give herself any Concern: Those then at the Helm she knew had but one Point in View; which was to preserve their Plentitude of Power, and wallow securely in their ill-got Wealth:

Tho' at this Period of Time we find her, notwithstanding, improv'd in her Estate at Home, and at her highest Pitch of Credit and Influence abroad: having fastened *Spain* upon us, as she had done *Sweden* upon *Russia*; leaving *Denmark* in Subsidy, and made *Germany* prey upon it's own Bowels.

This was the Situation of *Europe*; and in consequence thereof the Confederates drove all before them: The Alarm reached *Vienna* itself, and the Queen was forced to take Sanctuary among her *Hungarian* Subjects.

But with whatever Zeal and Devotion she was received by them, or whatever Disposition they manifested for her Service, all had been ineffectual without Money; with which they were most critically and generously supplied by the *British* Parliament; for it appears to have been this very Money which enabled the *Hungarians, Croats, &c.* to take the
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Field;

Field; and therefore, the Success of the *Austrian* Arms at the Battle of *Czastau* may be partly placed to our Account.

It is true, had not the *French* refin'd rather too much, in refusing to join the *Prussians* upon that Occasion, and in standing aloof on the Presumption, that which ever conquer'd, they should have the Benefit of the Victory, both the Money of *England*, and the Valour of *Hungary* had been employed in vain; for it had been impossible for those new-raised Forces to have given Battle to both Armies united, unless to their utter Ruin.

This over-Cuning of the Court of *Versailles*, however, had a proper Effect on his *Prussian* Majesty, and he soon resolved to depend no more upon an Ally who had acted the low Part of a common Incendiary, by kindling a War in *Germany*, in Hopes of finding his Account in the Plunder.

The same Incident likewise operated in the same Manner on the King of *Poland*, who, having caused a large Body of his *Saxon* Troops to march into *Moravia*, in order to join the Confederates, and form the Siege of * *Brin*, not only recall'd them, but chose to negotiate a Neutrality with the Queen of *Hun-*

* It ought to be remembred that two thousand of those Troops were cut off by the Governor of that Place, who likewise seiz'd their military Chest, &c.

Hungary, rather than be lur'd into the like Snare that was set for *Prussia*, by the frothy, treacherous Promises of *France*.

Even the Emperor of their own making, likewise took the Alarm, and express'd his Fears so strongly upon the Occasion, that the Army which was understood to be sent to his Succour, acted almost like an Army of Observation upon his Conduct; and, at the same Time, that the whole *Swedish* Nation, exclaimed against their Perfidy, on one Side, *Spain* express'd their Jealousies and Discontents as loudly on the other.

Thus we have already liv'd to see the Credit of *France* blasted among her Neighbours and Allies, and even a Check given to the Progress of her Arms; for it appeared, that the *French* had entangled themselves in the Snare which they had set for *Prussia*; and that the *Austrians*, having quieted one Enemy, were become an over-Match for the other: In Consequence whereof, we had the Pleasure to be informed, that those who but just before threatned *Vienna* itself, and treated the Queen of *Hungary* as already a Prisoner at Discretion, were forced to retire with all possible Speed, and take Sanctuary under the Cannon of *Prague*; and tho' the Siege of that Place was not attended with the desired Success, the Losses sustained in it by the *French*, were so great and grievous,

that they are scarce repair'd at this Day : On the contrary, almost all the different Corps enclosed within that Place, were so miserably diminished, and the Officers who commanded them so impoverished, that it appears the King was forced to complement them with Recruits out of the Militia, whose Places were to be supplied by raising the sixth Man thro' the whole Kingdom, agreeable to an Edict published for that Purpose, but which, nevertheless, hath not as yet answered the End ; as is evident by the Remonstrances against it, delivered to his Most Christian Majesty by the Magistracy of *Paris*, and some other Cities.

But though, by the seasonable Arrival of Marshal *Maillebois*, Marshal *Broglie* was enabled to make his Escape from *Prague*, the *French* were no longer able to act offensively, or preserve the Conquests they had made : On the contrary, the whole Kingdom of *Bohemia*, except *Egra*, reverted to it's natural Sovereign the Queen of *Hungary*, and the modern *Turenne*, as M. *Broglie* is stiled at the *French* Court, hath been able to perform nothing material since ; unless the raising the Siege of *Brunau*, or his Dexterity in avoiding the Enemy, deserve that Characteristic.

Germany is usually called the Grave of the *French* ; and not without Reason ; since
their

their most successful Wars in that Country have ever cost them more Lives than the Advantages attending them were worth ; nor hath this last been less destructive than those of former Times : For to say nothing of the Havock which the Sword hath made, their Troops have been equally wasted with Famine, Sickness, and Fatigue : Of all which Hardships, the Survivors are become so sensible, that their very Spirit seems to be subdued, and they rather act as Men going to be sacrificed, than inspir'd with the Hope of Victory. It was on this Account, perhaps, that a Penny a Day Sterling additional Pay was lately allowed to every private Man : Of whom it may be literally said, that they are only *Food for Powder*, according to the Expression of *Falstaff* ; their Subsistence-Money being exactly of a Piece * with their Tatterdemalion-Regimentals, which are never dismiss'd under a three Years Service, tho' reduced to Rags at the end of one. It is no Wonder, therefore, that their Armies whenever in the Field should moulder under a daily Desertion ; that all the Foreigners, at present

* *Viz.* To the *Switzers* Nine Pence for Five Days and Ammunition Bread, and to the *French* Seven Pence Half-penny (the *Livre* being reduced by Degrees from Twenty Pence, which was the ancient Value, to Ten Pence Sterling) and to the Horse, Dragoons, and Officers in Proportion.

present in their Pay, are sick of the Service ; and that those in particular who are within Reach of the *Dutch* Frontiers, would go off to a Man, if there was not a Cartel established between the two Nations, to deliver up all Deserters, without Exception.

To conclude upon this Head, As it is a known Truth that the best Troops in the *French* Service are those which they hire of the *Switz-Cantons* ; it must be allowed a very favourable Circumstance in the present War, that his most Christian Majesty cannot obtain Leave to recruit those Regiments without first paying off his old Score, which amounts to almost a Million Sterling ; and agreeing to an Advance of two Sols *per Diem per Man* into the Bargain.

As therefore the real Aquisitions *France* had made, and her ambitious Designs upon *Germany* began to render her really formidable to the Rest of *Europe* ; so the Umbrage she hath given, and the Losses she hath sustain'd, seem to point out that now is the Time to clip her Wings once more, and thereby do, what the Treaty of *Utrecht* left undone, and undo what our other notable Treaty-Mongers have done since.

But, however prudent, politic, or seasonable it may appear to come to a Rupture with *France*, I will not take upon me to recommend the Rectitude of such a Measure, unless

less it should likewise appear to be just : And that it really would be founded upon Equity as well as Policy, I think is manifest from undeniable Facts, which are yet fresh in every Body's Memory, and which, for that very Reason, scarce need an Exemplification. I mean, the conniving at their Seamens entering into the *Spanish* Service ; the sending one Squadron to the *West Indies* under the Marquis *d' Antin*, to facilitate, if Admiral *Ver-*
non would have given Leave, the Return of the Galleons ; and afterwards a Second to secure a safe Passage for the *Spanish* Fleet thro' the Straits of *Gibraltar* ; the giving the same Squadron Protection in the Harbour of *Tou-*
lon ; and, above all, the Refortifying *Dun-*
irk, in Contempt of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the Remonstrances of his Majesty, and the universal Resentment of his People : Every one of which Particulars is, in itself, an Hostility, and therefore proves, that a War so provok'd on their Sides, becomes Self-De-

Let no Man, however, imagine, because I am clearly of Opinion that 'tis a Debt both to our Honour and our Interest to declare against *France*, that therefore I am an Advocate for those Steps already taken which seem to have a Tendency that way : The Character of a *Don Quixot* or a *Drawcansir* appears as absurd and as ridiculous to me, as
to

to other People : And by what I have already advanced, it is apparent that I am not contending for a Land-War of any sort: Without Assistances of Money both to the Queen of *Hungary* and the King of *Sardinia*; it is indeed impossible for those Powers to stand their Ground, and without their Assistance, I should be loath to recommend any War at all. But when those Assistances have been given, in my humble Opinion, we have done as much as is necessary for the Support of the Common Cause ; and all beyond is either Phrenzy, or something worse.

From *Luxemburgh*, it is true, there is an easy Entrance into *Champagne*, an open Country without Defiles to perplex the March of an Army, or fortify'd Towns, except *Sedan* and *Charleville*, to render a Passage thro' one Province half as long as the Journey of the *Jews* thro' the Wilderness. But then 'tis more the Interest of *Holland*, *Prussia*, &c. to harass the *French* on that side, than ours, and in their Power to perform it at half the Expence. 'Till, therefore, they please to open their Eyes on the Prospect now before them, or they can be led to place such a Confidence in us, as may serve to remove every Cloud that may at present overshadow it, I am for confining our Efforts, except in the Article of Money, to the Sea only.

To a War of any sort, I am sensible Objections may be made ; but most of them will be of the same Nature with those brought by Infidels against Tempests, Cold, Heat, &c. which, tho' Evils, are necessary Evils, and, if grievous to bear, are wholesome in the End.

But I will be more particular. The Difficulties and Calamities attending the two last Wars with *France*, I have already mention'd, as the Foundation of all that is now advanc'd against our entering into a new one : and indeed the vast Sums consumed in them, and the enormous Debts they have entail'd upon us, afford very plausible Pretences for exploding the like extravagant Measures for the future.

But those who set up for Judges, ought rather to be just than severe : and to state the Account fairly, we must set the Profit against the Loss.

It is necessary, therefore, to observe, that during the Reign of *Charles II.* (when, instead of looking with Jealousy and Dread on the growing Power of *France*, both the King and his Ministers not only took Money for conniving at it, but actually did their utmost to quicken its Progress) there is reason to believe, that we consumed almost as much in Value of the Growth and Product of *France*, as their Merchants now

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export in the whole Circle of their Commerce ; it appearing by certain Calculations laid before the Parliament, that in the Course of Twenty Years, they drain'd us of no less than * Twenty Millions in Specie.

At or before the breaking out of the first *French* War, they supplied us with all manner of wrought Silks, Velvets, Gold and Silver Lace, Toys, Salt, Hats, Shoes, Stockings, Linnen, as well as Brandy, Wine, &c. &c. Our Distillery and Cyder-Trade were of no Consequence, and even our Brewery bore no Comparison to what it is at present.

But this pernicious Commerce was no sooner interrupted by the Breach between the two Nations, but Necessity and Industry put us on new Regulations. Accordingly many new Manufactures were set up, such as in Battery, Iron, and other Metals Linnen, Paper, Silks, Stuffs, Lace, &c. &c. many new Channels of Commerce were open'd, our Husbandry was wonderfully improv'd ; and in consequence thereof our Lands rose in their annual Value, as much

as

* Some Persons more than double this Sum ; and estimate the annual Revenue of *France* at that time to have been upwards of 15,000,000 *Sterling* ; so that the gradual Diminution of their Commerce with *England* aptly accounts for the Diminution of their Revenue likewise.

as answers the Land-Tax at Four Shillings in the Pound.

As a Demonstration of which, let any Man cast his Eye on the mighty Additions of Building, Furniture, and every Article of Expence, which are not only to be seen at *London* and the Places adjacent, but likewise at *Bristol, Liverpool, Hull, Whitehaven, Manchester, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Sheffield, &c.* to say nothing of the amazing Improvements of our Colonies : whereas in *France*, except *Port l'Orient*, the Station of the *French East India Company*, I know of no Port, or City, which hath received any visible Alteration.

As therefore many of these Advantages may be said to be owing to those two very Wars which are now so generally decry'd ; we have Authority to expect that others of a like Nature will arise, in case it should be found either necessary or expedient to venture upon a Third, which, by an Access of Wealth to Individuals, may enrich the Public as much one Way, as some People may fear it will be impoverish'd another.

The Wines, Brandies, Laces, and Cambricks of *France* will, in such case, be wholly prohibited ; and when one Market fails, they will find it hard to open another. The Cambricks of *Scotland* and *Ireland* may then perhaps meet with the

Esteem and Encouragement from the People, which they already deserve from the Legislature; a more watchful Eye may be kept on the Exportation of our Wool; and the Expences of our gay Travellers, which pethaps amount yearly to half a Million, not to insist upon the Loss by clandestine Importations of *French* Wares of all Sorts, will be saved.

And now, having mention'd *Scotland*, I should be inexcusable if I did not take the Hint to mention another Circumstance, which renders a War with *France* more eligible than ever; I mean the *Union*; by which the two Nations are incorporated, and the Door is for ever shut on the *French* Influence there, which used to be esteem'd one of the worst Mischiefs we had to apprehend from a Rupture with that inveterate Enemy.

I wish I could say that as much Care had been taken of poor *Ireland*, a Country, which from its Situation, Fertility, Number of excellent Harbours, and many other Advantages, might be render'd one of the most flourishing Kingdoms in the Universe, tho' at present, by a strange Infatuation, labouring under innumerable Difficulties and Discouragements, and no otherwise kept within their Duty, than by the Terror of a Standing Army,

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But to return from this Digression. It is moreover observable, that when Queen *Anne's* War broke out, *Scotland* was not only in very uneasy Circumstances, but the *Dutch* were greatly exposed to the Insults of their new Neighbours the *French*, who, as Executors to the King of *Spain's* Will, had pour'd in 30,000 Men into the *Spanish* Netherlands, which were oblig'd to support them, as likewise to furnish 20,000 Recruits yearly, together with Horses to remount the *French* Cavalry, Provisions, Forage, &c. I might add several other Particulars drawn from the present State of *Spain* and *Italy*, to shew, that a War at this time would be more of a Piece with the Interest of *Great Britain* than it was then, at least a Sea-War, which is what I principally contend for, and which I will take the Liberty to support with these additional Reasons, as to me appearing unanswerable.

1. Because they have no Ports in the narrow Seas. 2. None very good on this Side the *Mediterranean*, except *Brest* in *Britanny*, and *Rockford* upon the River of *Clarent*, but that is so deep on the Bay of *Biscay*, as to render it of little Consequence, except to their own Country. 3. The Ports and Harbours, which they have, are so far distant from each other, that their Naval Force may be destroyed by our Fleets before they can unite : Therefore

as nothing is more the Interest, so nothing ought to be more the Care and Endeavours of the King of *Great Britain*, (and likewise of the States of the *United Provinces*, when they please) than to keep the *French* King from opening any more Ports and Harbours than he now hath: for that Prince who hath many Ships and few Harbours, is of as little Consideration, as that Prince who hath many Ports and Harbours, and but few Ships. Nothing multiplies Seamen but foreign Commerce; and nothing so much encourages That as Plenty of good Ports, Harbours and safe Coasts (of which, to the Comfort of *Europe* I speak it, *France* is wanting); but if we delay to lower the Sails of their Ambition, until they have Leisure to supply this Defect, they will soon prove too great to be dealt with. Therefore, I say again, 'tis the true, nay the principal Interest of the King of *Great Britain*, and of the States of the *United Provinces*, to destroy the *French* in their Naval Strength, their Fishery, and their *West-India* Trade, which are their Nursery for Sea-men: By which means their Navigation being at an End, their Trade must decay, and their boasted Power at Land become inconsiderable to us.

But our present, principal Advantage over the *French* consists in our Possession of *Gibraltar*; which is so advantageously situated, that it commands the greatest Thoroughfare of Trade

Trade and Commerce in the World ; no Ship being able to pass in or out of the *Mediterranean* unobserv'd from thence. Now the *French* have more Business in and about the *Streights*, and consequently frequent them more than any Nation in Christendom ; so that as long as we continue Masters of this important Place, which we owe to the incredible Bravery of the *English* Seamen in the last War, we hold the Keys of the *Mediterranean*, and by a strong Squadron of Men of War, with proper Tenders, &c. we can at once hinder the Junction of the *Toulon* and *Brest* Squadrons, and put an entire Stop to the *French* Commerce thro' the *Streights*, which will half ruin the Southern Provinces, and greatly affect the Manufactures of *France* in general. Lastly, Such a War is become so much the more necessary, inasmuch as the *French* Nation already prey upon us under *Spanish* Commissions, and their Ships are not only made use of to convey home the Treasures of *America*, but to carry on a Commerce which all other Nations are excluded from.

But, after all the Pains I have taken, and the Arguments I have laid down in favour of this important Measure, I may be told, that I have begun at the wrong End ; That I should have first reflected on our calamitous Situation at Home, our Divisions, our Debts, our excessive Taxes, our declining Commerce,
our

our growing Poverty, &c. Affecting Considerations I must confess, and worthy all possible Attention ! But this Prospect, however melancholly, doth not furnish one Image to deter me from recommending a Sea-War with *France* notwithstanding : For our Poverty takes it's Rise from the Decline of our Commerce as well as the Increase of our Taxes ; and we find that Decline to be principally owing to the successful Rivalship of the *French* : Now it hath been already observed, that the Navigation of these Rivals of ours, subsists only by our Courtesy, and whenever we please to exert ourselves, as we ought, we can put an End to it ; consequently, the Downfal of their Commerce would be the Advancement of our own nothing being more notorious, than that our Woollen Manufacture, which is, at present the most grievous Sufferer, was never in more thriving Way, than during the two great Wars with *France*, so oft-already spoken of.

By the same Measures, therefore, that we quicken our Trade, we may get rid of our Poverty, which will render our Taxes less irksome, and perhaps help to make up our Breaches likewise.

But I will not deal with this favourite Measure of mine, as Quacks do by their *Nostrums*, recommend it as a Salve for every

Sore

Sore : If it will serve to restore our Trade, employ our Poor, (I do not mean by bearing Arms) and humble the common Enemy of *Europe*, I contend for no more.

But the grand Article of Ways and Means is yet untouch'd ; and it may be further urg'd, that we are already so excessively loaded, that a Feather, by way of Addition, would break our Backs : and yet such vast Heaps of stagnated Wealth are still hoarded in private Hands, that, on the Credit of a Vote of Parliament, we can raise some Millions upon any Emergency ; whereas the Farmers General of *France*, with the Assistance of all their Friends, would find it a difficult Matter to supply their Court, on a sudden, with one.

But tho' I mention the raising Money by Loans, it is an Expedient I am far from recommending, since Experience hath taught us that it is the broad, left-hand Road to Ruin ; nor is it possible for me to look on the present miserable Circumstances of our poor Manufacturers, arising in a great Degree from the Multiplicity of our Taxes, without a sensible Compassion.

However strongly, therefore, I am convinc'd, that it is the immediate Interest of *Great Britain* to commence a vigorous War with *France*, I should never think of recommending such a Measure, if the Expence

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was

was to be saddled on the People, already exhausted by the Ingenuity of the late Administration.

But there is no Occasion: And his Majesty is already in Possession of a Fund which is not only sufficient to carry us thro' all the Expences of a War, but also to ease our Manufacturers and Labourers of those Taxes which aggrieve them most, *viz.* Candles, Soap, Salt, and Leather; and I make no doubt, but that, if the Expedient is recommended and enforc'd, as the Importance of it deserves, his Majesty will most cordially embrace it, and thereby manifest himself to be indeed the Father of his People.

The Expedient I mean, is, by Authority of Parliament, to set to Sale annually such Portions of the Forest-Lands now vested in the Crown, as will answer the salutary Ends above proposed.

The said Lands, exclusive of such Parts of them, as are necessary for the Recreations of the Royal Family, may be estimated, very reasonably, at the Price of Thirty Millions.

At present they serve no other Purpose, than to furnish out Doles of Timber, to satiate the Cravings of Dependants, and to strengthen an Influence which we have to the full, as much Reason to dread, as the Power of *France*.

For

For which Reason, though they were antiently called the Flowers of the Crown, they both were then, and are now, no better than Thorns in the Sides of the People.

Most of them were obtained unjustly, and though a Length of Possession may give a Title in Law, in Equity it ought never to be allowed.

To restore them then to the Public, by devoting them to the public Service, will be the noblest Kind of Restitution.

The Profits of the Soil are the Right of the Inhabitants, and to suffer rich and fertile Lands to lye waste and uncultivated, is an Injury to the Commonwealth.

By the Improvement proposed, a new Mine of Wealth will be open'd ; for, over and above the Advantages arising by the Sale, our Breed of Husbandmen will be increased, and all other Artificers in proportion ; the Necessaries of Life will become more plentiful than ever ; many pitiful Villages will soon become considerable Towns ; as many poor Clergymen will find their Benefices augmented, without having Recourse to the Bounty of Queen *Anne* ; every Branch of the Revenue, as well as every Branch of our Commerce, will partake of this national Advantage ; and without the Incumbrance of additional Territories, we

shall procure an Addition of Wealth, Strength, and Importance.

That therefore the private Distresses of our former Kings did not lead them to replenish their Exchequer by so apt an Expedient as this, we have good Reason to wonder, but more to be infinitely thankful : For by that Omission of theirs, his present Majesty hath still the Power in his Hands to humble our antient Enemy once more to the Dust, and to render his Reign a Blessing to latest Posterity : whereas if this *Dernier Resort* had likewise been swallow'd up in the Gulph of Ways and Means, we might have repin'd at the growing Greatness of *France*, but we could not have reduc'd it : To make *Brick* without *Straw*, being as impossible to the free-born Subjects of *England* as to the Slaves of *Egypt*.

F I N I S.



POSTSCRIPT.

WHILST the preceding Discourse was at Press, a Scare-Crow List of the *French* Forces was put into my Hand: by the Sum-Total, of which we are taught to believe, that, including their Militia, they are above 415,000 strong. — But tho' this Paper was, long since, shewn about by the famous *Balance-Master* as authentic, even a *Gascon* could not, without a Blush, have called it so: Since it is notorious, That the *French* Battalion, there charged at 685 Men, rarely amounts to 400; and that the *French* Squadron, both of Horse and Dragoons, is over-rated proportionally: So that, without allowing for the Deficiencies occasioned by the Sword, Sickness, and Desertion, we are authorized to abate above one Third upon their regular Forces only.

Again; with regard to their Militia, under three separate Articles; that is to say, 30,000 which was the Establishment in the Year 1741; 90,000 said to be raised in 1742-3; and

and 78,400 incorporated; they are made to amount to 198,400: Whereas, in very Deed, by the new Levies, the Militia was to be made 90,000 in all, and the 78,000 incorporated were drawn out of the said 90,000, to make good Deficiencies in the regular Troops: And this 78,000 was to be again re-established by a Draught of the Sixth Man out of the whole Kingdom; which, as already hinted, hath not as yet taken Effect.

Time will not suffer me to be more particular: But this is sufficient to shew how wide this intimidating Paper is of the Truth; more especially if the Reader will give himself the Trouble to compare it with the Account of the *French* Forces in 1702, which he will find in the Sequel,



A Short Comparison between the British and French Dominions; formerly publish'd by the same Author.

IT must be allow'd *France* is larger than *Britain* and *Ireland*, but disputable whether it contains more Inhabitants, and it is so situated with Regard to *Spain*, *Holland*, *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, as to be much more formidable on the Continent than we are: But even this Advantage is purchas'd at

at a Price far beyond its Value : For if many Powers stand in Awe of her, 'tis possible those very Powers, may in Turn be her Enemies, whence she is every where oblig'd to cover her Barrier with fortify'd Towns, keep a vast Standing-Army on Foot, and disburse considerable Sums annually in Subsidies to foreign Princes.

On the contrary, *Britain and Ireland*, by being Islands, are under no Necessity to purchase the good Will of their Neighbours, or be at the Expence of Fortifications, or subject themselves to the Tyranny of a military Force : The Sea secures them from sudden Irruptions, and their Fleets are able to protect them from the more deliberate Projects of their most potent Enemies : To protect only is too limited a Term ; a maritime Force like ours, *properly directed*, may strike a Terror wherever it can sail, and as we can be hurt only by Sea, may almost command what Justice, and inflict what Vengeance we please.

But *France* has her Fleets as well as we, — She has so ; Thanks to our own Treachery one while, and our bad Policy another : But they are neither equal to ours in Number, or Strength, or on an Establishment so natural, or durable as ours. In the first Place, our Ship-Timber is the best in the World, and tho' the Quantity of it is diminish'd, 'tis far, very far from being exhausted

hausted: On the other Hand, *France* is poor in this Particular; most of her Ships being purchas'd of other Nations, and consequently, were she, by some instant Blow, to be depriv'd of her present Navy, the Loss would be almost irreparable. Again, she has but little Iron, and less of every other Kind of naval Stores; Whereas, we abound in all; our Plantations supplying largely, whatever we are defective in at Home: From whence 'tis manifest, that, at Sea, we are every Way her Superior.

Having allow'd *France* to be more powerful on the Continent, than 'tis possible or even necessary for us to be; and prov'd that we have, or might have as much the Advantage by Sea; let us next make a Comparison of the Wealth and Trade of the two Nations. And, first, as to the simple produce of the Soil, in which, it must be observ'd, that we have greatly the Advantage: That of *France* thro' the Dryness of the Air, the Heats in Summer, Want of Manure, and overtilling, is, generally speaking, poor, and half-exhausted: Nay, in many Places, great Tracts, formerly cultivated, lie, at present, wholly waste and neglected. Whereas, the Soil of these Islands is, for the most Part, rich, fruitful, and excellently well improv'd: The Art of Husbandry being nowhere better understood, or follow'd with more Industry. It is, therefore, not at all surprising

surprising that *France*, even in the most favourable Seasons, should but just be able to feed i's own Inhabitants ; or that *Britain* should so abound in Grain of all Sorts, that, were our Exportations a little better regulated, we might be able both to supply our Neighbours, and yet never run any Risque of being in Want ourselves ; notwithstanding the vast Quantities consum'd in our Brewery, Distillery, &c. Under this Article, we may likewise add, that our northern Colonies are an almost inexhaustible Granary ; furnishing beside their own Consumption, infinite Quantities to the *Leward* Islands, *New Spain*, *Portugal*, &c. to the great Profit both of Planter and Merchant : Again, *France* is as deficient in Pasturage, as in Tillage ; and tho' 'tis notorious that that they eat but very little Flesh, they are forc'd to eke out that little with Supplies from their Neighbours ; with the Addition of Butter and Cheese, in great Abundance, into the Bargain. Whereas we on the other Hand, tho' the most noted Flesh-Eaters on this Side the Globe, not only stock our own Markets, and victual our own Fleets, &c. but have a Surplus, especially in *Ireland*, large enough to supply other Nations. Our Fleeces, Hydes, and Tallow are, likewise, more valuable than any other ; our Horses are the most serviceable in *Europe* ; *France* herself being supply'd with great

H Numbers

Numbers from hence. Our Timber, especially our Oak, admits of no Comparison, our Cyder, Perry, &c. are Articles that the *French* cannot come near us in : Woad, a Dying Drug, we have in great Abundance, but the *French* little or none. But as to Hemp and Flax, 'tis hard to say, which of the Kingdoms has the Advantage. The Vine *France* may glory in without a Rival : Inso-much, that it would not be amiss, if, instead of the Flower de Lucies, she was to give three Bunches of Grapes for her Coat of Arms. With regard to Mines, the subterranean Wealth of a Country, we have not only the Superiority of *France*, but of most Countries in *Europe*. Our Tin has been famed thro' all Ages, our Lead is likewise an Article of vast Importance ; we make great Quantities of Iron, we have very considerable Allom-Works : Our Copper is inferior to none but that of *Sweden*, and, as to our Coal, 'tis of more Consequence, than all the Gold, Silver, and Diamonds of *Mexico*, *Peru* and *Brazil*.

With Respect to Manufactures, we have to the full as many Advantages, on the Comparison, as from the Soil. For, in the first Place, we have neither so many Soldiers, or Priests, consequently not so many idle People as they. And, secondly, we have almost all the principal Materials for the Employment of Industry within ourselves. Our

Wool

Wool enables us, if we please, to supply the better Half of the World with cloathing, almost on our own Terms, and 'till lately, we have enjoy'd that Traffic without a Rival: In narrow Cloths, Kerseys, Serges, Bayes, Stuffs, &c. &c. we are still Masters. In Hard-ware, Glass, Cabinet, Watch and Clock-Work, and Bijouterie; we are the Envy and Admiration of all the rest of the World. In dressing of Skins, Tanning, &c. we are equally excellent. In what is called *Manchester Ware*, in the making of Hats, Shoes and Stockings; in painting, printing, and staining of Linens; in a Word, in whatever contributes to the Ease, Convenience, and Luxury or Life, except Cambricks and Gold and Silver Stuffs, all the Nations round us, will acknowledge we have neither Superior, or Equal.

We come now to our foreign Trade; and here we could wish this Comparison had been undertaken some Years ago, before the *French* had swallowed up the Trade to the *Levant*, made such a Progress in their Settlements in the *East* and *West-Indies*, the Coast of *Africk*, &c. However, it may still be safely aver'd, that, our vast Intercourse with our own Plantations consider'd, we have still the Advantage in every Branch, those to *Turkey*, and, during the War, to *Spain* excepted; and how soon this might be put beyond Controversy, let the following Facts declare.

declare. — We have in the first Place, a four Times greater Extent of Sea-Coast than the *French*, and are more commodiously situated for Navigation ; our Ports are numerous and good, those of *France* few, and yet fewer safe and convenient. We have all the Nerves of Commerce within ourselves ; we have such *Wool*, as would alone, if *duly preserv'd*, engross the Wealth of the World. We have inestimable Fisheries on our own Coasts ; we have others on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, &c. We abound, or might, with Provisions of all Sorts. Our People are numerous, ingenious and industrious. We have long had firm Footing upon, and established Correspondences with almost all the maritime Provinces of the Globe. Our Ships and Seamen are, in a manner, innumerable : Nor do we want Means to increase both, whenever we please, which, as before observ'd, is out of the Power of *France*. Our Plantations are alone sufficient to preserve us a rich, happy and flourishing People, if proper Care was taken to make the most of them. And the annual Revenues of our Government are both large enough to keep all these Wheels in Motion, and re-establish our Trade, Credit, and Importance, against even *France* herself, who has swelled to her present Greatness, principally thro' the Ignorance, Indolence, or Corruption of her Neighbours.

The



The Revenue of France in the Year 1700.

TH E General Income of *France*, from Land, Trade, and Manufacture in Times of Peace, and before the Persecution of that Kingdom, amounted to 1,100,000,000, of *French Livres*, or about Eighty four Millions Sterling; of which the Clergy and Religious Houses have near the Fourth Part (or 22 Millions Sterling.) And the King by the Land-Tax, or *les Tailles*, the Five Great Farms, *viz.* Casual Revenue, *Eaux & Forests*, Tenths from the Clergy, Inland and Foreign Posts, Free-Gifts, &c. something above the Ninth, that is, 9,600,000 Pounds Sterling clear from all Charges. By which it appears, That even in the Times of Peace, the Mass of the People of *France* did not enjoy much above Five Parts in Eight of the Annual Income of that plentiful Country.

The King's Revenue not answering his vast Expence, the Ways made use of by the Ministry of *France* to raise Money, have been by Erecting New Employments,
by

by Augmentation of Salaries of the Ancient Offices, and by Assigning Pensions upon the *Maison de Ville*, or Chamber of *Paris*; for all which the New Purchaser pays so many Years Purchase to the King. And tho' this has been a ready means of raising Money among a People so fond of Offices and Titles; yet it has encumbered the Crown-Revenue with a heavy Debt. For 'twas computed that the King before the Year 1688, paid upon that Score no less than four Millions Sterling *per Annum*, which reduced his Income to 5,600,000 Pounds Sterling; a Sum, which the Expences occasioned by the late War, have very much exceeded.

For 'tis believ'd, that the Expences of the King's Household, Maintenance of the Princes of the Blood, Charge of the Navy and Land-Force, &c. could amount to no less than 10,600,000 Pounds Sterling: The Expences therefore have been Five Millions more than the Revenue; for which Sum, either the Government must have every Year run in Debt, or it must have been annually rais'd upon the People.

The former Revenue being 9,600,000 Pounds Sterling, had this Revenue held up during the War, there had been occasion to raise above Five Millions Sterling, besides One Million and a Half for the Salaries and Gains of the greater Number of Officers employed in the collecting every Branch;

so that there was Yearly Levied upon the People of *France*, during the late War, 16,100,000 Pounds Sterling, which was near the Fifth Penny of 84,000,000 Pounds Sterling, annual Income.

But the Interruption of Trade, and Expulsion of the Protestants, having sunk the Annual Income to 77,000,000, and the ordinary Crown Revenue to 8,500,000 Pounds Sterling *per Annum*, the annual Expences were supplied by Augmenting the Land-Tax, or *Les Tailles*, and a heavy Capitation, and Creation of Employments, increasing Salaries of Ancient Officers, and new Pensions or Annuities on the Chamber of *Paris* was laid.

There being Grounds to believe that there was levied, during the late Nine Years War, by a Medium, 3,500,000 Pounds Sterling *per Annum*. In all 31,500,000 Pounds Sterling by Sale of Offices, Pensions, &c. And suppose the Purchaser from the Crown had paid for all these New Grants about 17 Years Purchase, the 31,500,000 Pounds Sterling, thus sold for Payment of Salaries and Interest, did then charge the Revenue of the Crown with the New Debt of 1,900,000 Pounds Sterling *per Annum*.

It has been said before, the Debt formerly contracted upon the same Account, amounted to 4,900,000 Pounds Sterling; so that there was probably paid out of the Crown Revenue

ence upon these Accounts in the Year 1697, in all 5,890,000 Pounds Sterling.

	<i>P. Ster.</i>
Peace did probably restore the Crown-Revenue to _____	} 9, 000, 000
From which deduct for those sorts of Debts _____	} 5, 890, 000
And there remain'd to the Crown but _____	} 3, 110, 000
The necessary Expences of the Court, Army, and Fleet, in Times of Peace do not amount to less than _____	} 6, 000, 000.
From whence deduct _____	3, 110, 000.
The Expence greater than the Income by _____	} 2, 890, 000.

To make up part of which Sum, the King of *France* has lower'd the Interest, which is paid on Account of the Rent-Charges upon the Chamber of *Paris*; suppress'd a Great Number of New-Offices, and order'd Corporations to reimburse the Purchasers; both which ease his Revenue of near one Million and half *per Annum*. And for the Rest he keeps up several New Impositions that have been during the late War.

This was the State of the *French* King's Revenues, in the Year 1700. By the Treaty of Partition, and the procuring the King of *Spain's* Will, the *French* King's Expences

pences have vastly increas'd; for it was computed, That,

P. Ster.

The Duke d'Harcourt's Embassy into Spain cost the French King no less than } 500,000.

Count Tallard is reckon'd to have expended in England } 400,000.

The Accepting the King of Spain's Will has been attended with Extraordinary Charge; for the German Princes have receiv'd from France, either upon Account of their Neutrality, or for Raising Troops to maintain the same, no less than } 1,000,000.

The Duke of Savoy, and the Italian Princes, stand the King of France is as much } 1,000,000.

In all, ——— 2,900,000.

To make up this Sum, the French King hath not only continued, but doubled the Capitation; and has once more rais'd the Gold and Silver Species of his Kingdom; both which, as they exhaust his Subjects' purses, so they put almost a total Stop to Trade, it being computed that in September several Merchants at Lyons turn'd Bank-

rupts for above 1, 500, 000 Pounds Sterling.

The present War the King of *France* is Embarrass'd with to maintain his Grandson on the *Spanish* Throne, stands him in as much as the late War did; for tho' the *Spaniards* are at the Charge of keeping the *Netherlands*; yet the *French* King is necessitated to have an Army of near 50000 Men in *Italy*, which costs him Six times as much, as the like Number would do on his Frontiers.

This Short View of the *French* Affairs must needs yield a pleasing Prospect to those that wish the Liberties of all *Europe*, and in particular of *England*, secur'd against an Encroaching Power.



An Account of the French King's Forces.

A R M I E S.

French
Men

I N <i>ITALY</i> —————	46800
— On the <i>RHINE</i> —————	30500
— In <i>FLANDERS</i> —————	45100

G A R R I S O N S

Ostend —————	1500
Oudenard —————	500
Dunkirk —————	4000
Calais —————	2000
Liege —————	1500
Dinant —————	1000
Bon —————	3000
Keyferfwaert —————	1500
Straßburg —————	3000
Fort-Louis —————	500
Landau —————	1500
Brisac —————	3000
Sarlouis —————	500
Bellisle —————	500
Brest —————	1500
Touloun —————	500
Marseilles —————	500
Perpignan —————	1500
Tournay —————	2000
Cambray —————	1000
Lille —————	2000
Inland Garrisons and Forts; as Bour- deaux, Rochelle, Pont St Esprit, &c.,	4000
Total —————	204900

The

The Naval Forces of France.

On the MEDITERANEAN

Galleys	35
Men of War	20
Frigats	25

On the OCEAN

Men of War for the Line of Battel	25
Frigats	40
Galleys	10



Inland Garrisons and Forts; as Brest, Rochelle, Toulon, &c.